

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 INR-07 L-03  
ACDA-07 NSAE-00 PA-01 SS-15 PRS-01 SP-02 USIA-06  
TRSE-00 DHA-02 CU-02 /064 W  
-----127955 201250Z /43

P 201201Z JUL 77  
FM USMISSION NATO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4960  
SECDEF WASHDC  
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 01 OF 05 NATO 07003

BELGRADE FOR CSCE DEL

E.O.11652: GDS  
TAGS: CSCE, NATO, MILI  
SUBJECT: CSCE/CBMS: REVISED CORRIGENDUM TO ISD/149

REF: (A) STATE 143453 (DTG 210119Z JUN 77, NOTAL), (B)  
NATO 5968 (DTG 241714Z JUN 77)

1. THERE FOLLOWS A REVISED CORRIGENDUM TO ISD/149  
(DRAFT POLADS PAPER ON CBMS), WHICH THE INTERNATIONAL  
STAFF HAS PREPARED ON THE BASIS OF ALLIED COMMENTS AT  
POLADS MEETINGS REPORTED REF B.

2. ACTION REQUESTED: IF POSSIBLE, BY JULY 27, WHEN POLADS  
WILL AGAIN REVIEW ISD/149, ANY FURTHER COMMENTS THE DE-  
PARTMENT WISHES TO PROVIDE ON THAT PAPER.

3. BEGIN TEXT:  
REVISED CORRIGENDUM TO ISD/149:

PARAGRAPHS

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2. REPLACE THE FIRST SENTENCE BY THE FOLLOWING:

- "CMBS ARE AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE FINAL ACT. THEIR  
FULL IMPLEMENTATION WOULD CONTRIBUTE TO IMPROVING THE CLI-  
MATE OF POLITICAL CONFIDENCE ESSENTIAL TO THE CONTINUATION  
OF THE DETENTE PROCESS, TO REDUCING THE DANGERS OF ARMED  
CONFLICT AND OF A MISUNDERSTANDING OR MISCALCULATION OF THE

NATURE OF CERTAIN MILITARY ACTIVITIES, AND THUS TO THE STRENGTHENING OF SECURITY."

4. REPLACE FIRST THREE SENTENCES BY THE FOLLOWING:

- "AS A COMPLEMENT TO THE IMPLEMENTATION REVIEW, ALLIES MIGHT WISH TO CONSIDER ADVANCING, OR SUPPORTING, A LIMITED NUMBER OF INITIATIVES 'TO DEVELOP AND ENLARGE' THE CBMS PORTION OF THE FINAL ACT WITHOUT, HOWEVER, ALTERING THE FINAL ACT TEXT. A RATIONALE FOR SUCH INITIATIVES WILL BE FOUND IN THE FINAL ACT ITSELF, LAST PARAGRAPH OF SECTION I, WHICH PROVIDES THAT THE EXPERIENCE GAINED BY THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROVISIONS SET FORTH ABOVE, TOGETHER WITH FURTHER EFFORTS, COULD LEAD TO DEVELOPING AND ENLARGING MEASURES AIMED AT STRENGTHENING CONFIDENCE. ALLIES HAVE A VERY GOOD RECORD OF IMPLEMENTING CBMS. MOST DELEGATIONS BELIEVE THAT ALLIES WOULD ONLY STAND TO GAIN IN A DISCUSSION AT BELGRADE OF..."

5. THIRD LINE:

REPLACE "ALLIED" BY "THEIR".

SIXTHLINE: DROP ARTICLE BEFORE "ALLIES".

9. SECOND SENTENCE:

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- AFTER "THE ALLIED COUNTRIES CONCERNED" CONTINUE TO READ: "...NOTIFIED ALL MAJOR MANEUVERS AND, IN CONTRAST TO EASTERN COUNTRIES, ADOPTED A VERY LIBERAL PRACTICE IN THE NOTIFICATION OF SMALLER-SCALE MANEUVERS (1), THE INVITATION AND..."

AT THE BOTTOM OF THE PAGE, ADD THE FOLLOWING FOOTNOTE:

- "(1) REFERENCE IS MADE TO MILITARY DOCUMENTS P&P (CSCE)-1-77 AND 2-77, DATED 1ST APRIL AND 10TH MAY, 1977, RESPECTIVELY, CONTAINING STATISTICAL MATERIAL ON WESTERN AND EASTERN MILITARY EXERCISES HELD IN RECENT YEARS. HOWEVER, THIS MATERIAL IS INTENDED ONLY FOR BACKGROUND INFORMATION, ENABLING ALLIED DELEGATIONS TO BETTER JUDGE THE SCOPE OF ALLIED (AND EASTERN) CBM IMPLEMENTATION, AND SHOULD PROBABLY NOT BE USED IN THE DISCUSSIONS. IF THIS MATERIAL WERE CIRCULATED IN BELGRADE IT MIGHT CAUSE SERIOUS DIFFICULTIES FOR THE ALLIES BECAUSE IT IS BASED ON CONFIDENTIAL AND SENSITIVE INTELLIGENCE WHICH MUST NOT BE REVEALED."

SUB-PARAGRAPH (III), FIRST SENTENCE:

- AFTER "... ON FIVE OCCASIONS INVITED OBSERVERS..."  
CONTINUE TO READ "...TO BOTH MAJOR (THREE) AND SMALLER-  
SCALE (TWO) MILITARY MANEUVERS."

SUB-PARAGRAPH (IV), BRACKETED TEXT:

DELETE "NO REPLY";

INSERT AFTER WHAT NOW BECOMES FIRST DASH:

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FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4961

SECDEF WASHDC

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 05 NATO 07003

"-THE RELEVANT PROVISIONS IN THE FINAL ACT ARE NOT WELL  
DEFINED;"

INSERT BEFORE LAST DASH:

"-INDICATE THAT ALLIES SEE SOME POSSIBILITIES FOR FUTURE  
IMPROVEMENTS IN THIS FIELD;"

12. FIRST SENTENCE TO READ:

- "ALLIED COUNTRIES, WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING SOME POSI-  
TIVE ELEMENTS IN THE EASTERN RECORD OF IMPLEMENTATION,  
SHOULD NOT HESITATE..."

SECOND SENTENCE TO READ:

- "...THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES DID NOT NOTIFY ANY  
MANEUVERS NOT INVITE OBSERVERS."

FOURTH SENTENCE TO READ:

- "...ALLIED COUNTRIES MIGHT WISH TO STATE THEIR  
REGRET THAT EASTERN COUNTRIES DID NOT ACCEPT INVITATIONS  
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FROM ALLIED COUNTRIES AND EXPLORE THE REASONS FOR THIS  
ATTITUDE."

FIFTH SENTENCE TO BE REPLACED BY THE FOLLOWING:

- "THEY MIGHT ALSO WANT TO MAKE THE POINT THAT UP TO  
JULY 1977 ONLY A SMALL NUMBER OF COUNTRIES IN GEOGRAPHIC  
PROXIMITY WERE INVITED TO SEND OBSERVERS AND EXPRESS THE  
HOPE THAT THE MOST RECENT OBSERVER INVITATIONS ISSUED BY  
THE SOVIET UNION TO A SOMEWHAT GREATER NUMBER OF COUNTRIES  
(6 WP, 3 NATO, 3 NEUTRALS) WOULD LEAD TO A STILL LESS RE-  
STRICTIVE PRACTICE WHICH ALL WP COUNTRIES WOULD ADOPT.  
THEY MIGHT, HOWEVER, WANT TO STATE THEIR DISSATISFACTION  
THAT THE POSSIBILITIES GRANTED TO OBSERVERS TO PERFORM  
THEIR TASKS WERE RATHER LIMITED."

13. READ AS FOLLOWS:

- "TABLES B AND E IN ANNEX I CONTAIN MORE DETAILED  
INFORMATION ON EASTERN IMPLEMENTATION (1) WHICH MAY BE  
SUMMARIZED AS FOLLOWS:

(I) PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MANEUVERS:

BETWEEN AUGUST 1975 AND THE END OF JANUARY 1976, WARSAW  
PACT COUNTRIES DID NOT NOTIFY ANY MANEUVER NOR INVITE  
OBSERVERS. AFTER JANUARY 1976, THEY NOTIFIED FIVE MANEU-  
VERS OF A SIZE EQUAL TO OR EXCEEDING THE 25,000 TROOP  
THRESHOLD PROVIDED FOR IN THE FINAL ACT. THERE IS NO  
EVIDENCE THAT THESE COUNTRIES HELD OTHER MAJOR MANEUVERS  
DURING THE PERIOD IN QUESTION. THE NOTIFICATION TEXTS  
MADE AVAILABLE TO THE OTHER CSCE PARTICIPANTS CONTAINED  
ONLY LIMITED INFORMATION."

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AT THE BOTTOM OF THE PAGE, ADD THE FOLLOWING FOOTNOTE:

- "(1) SEE FOOTNOTE ON PAGE 4"  
SUB-PARAGRAPH (IV): FIRST SENTENCE TO BE REPLACED BY

THE FOLLOWING:

- "THE SOVIET UNION INVITED OBSERVERS TO THREE OF THE FOUR MAJOR MANEUVERS NOTIFIED, WHEREAS POLAND INVITED OBSERVERS TO THE ONE MAJOR MANEUVER NOTIFIED; THERE WERE NO OBSERVER INVITATIONS FROM OTHER WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES. WHEREAS IN THREE OUT OF THESE FOUR CASES INVITATIONS WERE EXTENDED ONLY TO A SMALL GROUP OF COUNTRIES IN GEOGRAPHIC PROXIMITY (AMONG THEM NATO COUNTRIES), THE FOURTH AND MOST RECENT (SOVIET) OBSERVER INVITATION WAS ADDRESSED TO A SOMEWHAT BROADER NUMBER OF COUNTRIES (AMONG THEM THREE NATO COUNTRIES), INCLUDING SOME GEOGRAPHICALLY DISTANT ONES.

14. SECOND SENTENCE TO READ:

- "ALLIED DELEGATIONS AT BELGRADE SHOULD RECOGNIZE THIS AND WELCOME IT."

15. FOURTH LINE: REPLACE "TWICE" BY "ONCE".

16. THIRD LINE: REPLACE "PRESS" BY "ENCOURAGE".

- EIGHTH LINE: REPLACE "PRESSURE" BY "ENCOURAGEMENT".

19. SECOND SENTENCE TO READ:

- "IN EXAMINING POSSIBLE INITIATIVES TO DEVELOP AND

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TRSE-00 DHA-02 CU-02 /064 W  
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4962  
SECDEF WASHDC  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 05 NATO 07003

ENLARGE' EXISTING CBMS, ALLIES SHOULD TRY TO ESTABLISH PREFERENCES AND TO KEEP THE NUMBER OF SUCH INITIATIVES

LIMITED, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THEIR OVERALL OBJECTIVES AT BELGRADE AND THE TOTAL NUMBER OF INITIATIVES THEY WOULD WISH TO MAKE IN OTHER AREAS OF THE FINAL ACT."

20. DELETE: "IT WAS AGREED THAT".

21. IN TEXT (I): REPLACE "MAN" BY "TROOP".

22. LAST TWO SENTENCES: PUT IN SQUARE BRACKETS  
(BEGIN BRACKET ... END BRACKET)

23. LAST SENTENCE:

- AFTER "MINIMUM TIMEFRAME" CONTINUE TO READ:  
"...TO A MAXIMUM OF 60 DAYS".

26. FIRST SENTENCE: DELETE "THE ALLIES AGREED THAT".

LAST DASH:

- ADD AFTER "...SUBSEQUENT MANEUVERS": ",EVEN IF THE LATTER ARE NOT OF A SIZE TO REQUIRE NOTIFICATION UNDER CONFIDENTIAL

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THE CBM PROVISION FOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MANEUVERS."

27. IN THE HEADING AFTER PARAGRAPH 27: REPLACE (CAPITAL) "B" BY (LOWER-CASE) "B".

27(BIS) AFTER THE HEADING AFTER PARAGRAPH 27:

INSERT THE FOLLOWING PARAGRAPH:

- "27(BIS) SUCH AN INITIATIVE COULD BE BASED ON THE LAST SENTENCE OF THE SECTION OF THE FINAL ACT DEALING WITH MAJOR MILITARY MOVEMENT NOTIFICATIONS WHICH PROVIDES THAT CSCE PARTICIPANTS WILL GIVE FURTHER CONSIDERATION TO THE QUESTION OF PRIOR NOTIFICATION OF MILITARY MOVEMENTS, BEARING IN MIND, IN PARTICULAR, THE EXPERIENCE GAINED BY THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE MEASURES WHICH ARE SET FORTH IN THIS DOCUMENT."

28. REPLACE LAST SENTENCE BY THE FOLLOWING:

- "AUTHORITIES OF SOME ALLIED COUNTRIES HAVE INDICATED THEIR WILLINGNESS, AT THIS TIME, TO STRENGTHEN THE FINAL ACT PROVISION FOR NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MOVEMENTS, IF ACCEPTABLE PARAMETERS FOR SUCH A PROPOSAL CAN BE DETERMINED AND AGREED UPON. IF NEUTRAL AND NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES SHOULD OFFER AN ACCEPTABLE FORMULATED

INITIATIVE THESE ALLIES BELIEVE NATO COUNTRIES SHOULD SUPPORT IT. IF AN INITIAL PROPOSAL BY NEUTRAL AND NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES IS UNACCEPTABLE OR INADEQUATE, THESE ALLIES BELIEVE NATO SHOULD SUGGEST TO THESE COUNTRIES ALTERNATIVE FORMULATIONS WHICH THEY COULD SUPPORT. ALTHOUGH THESE ALLIES SEE NO ADVANTAGE IN ALLIANCE ADVOCACY OF A

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MOVEMENTS CBM AT THIS TIME THEY RESERVE THIER POSITION ON THE QUESTION WHETHER UNDER CERTAIN CIRCUMSTANCES ALLIES MIGHT WISH TO CONSIDER INITIATIVES ON MOVEMENTS THEM-SELVES, AS SOME ALLIES PROPOSE."

30. IN THE HEADING AFTER PARAGRAPH 30:

REPLACE (CAPITAL) "C" BY (LOWER-CASE) "C".

31. FOURTH SENTENCE: DELETE "THE ALLIES THEREFORE AGREED THAT".

SUB-PARAGRAPH (II): DELETE "WARSAW PACT".

SUB-PARAGRAPH (III), AFTER INITIAL LINE:

REPLACE FIRST TWO SENTENCES BY THE FOLLOWING:

- "SUCH COMMON CRITERIA WOULD HAVE ADVANTAGE, AND IT IS INDEED LIKELY THAT SWEDEN WILL PUT FORWARD ITS PROPOSAL ON 'GUIDELINES' FOR OBSERVER TREATMENT. THIS PROPOSAL WOULD HAVE TO BE EXAMINED BY ALLIES WHO WILL THEN HAVE TO DECIDE WHETHER IT IS ACCEPTABLE AND WHETHER, IN THE LIGHT OF DEVELOPMENTS AT BELGRADE, THEY WOULD WANT TO SUPPORT IT."

THIRD SENTENCE OF SUB-PARAGRAPH (III):

REPLACE "A CODE" BY "GUIDELINES".

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31(BIS) AT THE TOP OF PAGE 15:

- PLACE "31(BIS)" IN FRONT OF TEXT, DELETE "THE ALLIES AGREE THAT AN" AND CONTINUE TO READ: "ACCEPTABLE 'CRITERIA' MIGHT INCLUDE..."

AT THE END OF THE PARAGRAPH, INSERT THE FOLLOWING:

- "IF THE SWEDISH PROPOSAL WERE FOUND TO BE UNACCEPTABLE BY ALLIES, THEY THEMSELVES MIGHT CONSIDER ESTABLISHING SUITABLE CRITERIA FOR OBSERVER TREATMENT FOR EVENTUAL SUBMISSION AT BELGRADE."

32. REPLACE SECOND SENTENCE BY THE FOLLOWING:

- "THE MC VIEW IS FULLY COMPATIBLE WITH THE CRITERIA DESCRIBED AT PARAGRAPH 31(BIS) ABOVE."

34. SUB-PARAGRAPH (1):

AT THE END OF HEADLINE ADD: "(YUGOSLAVIA)"

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AT THE END OF WHOLE SUB-PARAGRAPH ADD THE FOLLOWING TEXT (AS THIRD SUB-PARAGRAPH):

- "IN ANY EVENT, IT WOULD HAVE TO BE ASCERTAINED THAT MANEUVERS THE NOTIFICATION OF WHICH WOULD BE UNACCEPTABLE TO ALLIES (E. G. CERTAIN NAVAL OR AIR AND JOINT MANEUVERS AND MANEUVERS UNDER A CERTAIN THRESHOLD) WOULD NOT BE COVERED BY SUCH A PROPOSAL. IT WOULD ALSO HAVE TO BE BORNE IN MIND THAT SUCH A PROPOSAL COULD LEAD TO A LARGE NUMBER OF NOTIFICATIONS, PARTICULARLY WITHIN WESTERN EUROPE, WHICH COULD GIVE RISE TO EASTERN CRITICISM THAT ALLIED CONDUCT TOO MANY MANEUVERS. FURTHERMORE, IT IS THE MILITARY VIEW THAT THE PROPOSAL HOLDS NO IDENTIFIABLE

MILITARY ADVANTAGE TO ALLIES."

SUB-PARAGRAPH (2):

BEGIN SECOND PORTION OF TEXT AS FOLLOWS:

- "ALLIES WILL HAVE TO EXAMINE THIS PROPOSAL MORE CAREFULLY IF AND WHEN ITS CONTENTS BECOME CLEARER. ONE ALLY, HOWEVER, WOULD..."

AFTER END OF SUB-PARAGRAPH 4, INSERT: (UNDERLINED ENTIRELY)

- "(4)BIS STRENGTHENING OF COMMITMENT FOR NOTIFICATION OF SMALLER-SCALE MANEUVERS WHICH ARE CARRIED OUT CLOSE TO EACH OTHER IN TIME AND SPACE AND UNDER THE SAME OPERATIONAL COMMAND (SWEDEN)

- -TO BE DISCUSSED-

SUB-PARAGRAPH (5), SECOND SENTENCE:

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- READ: "THEREFORE, IF THIS PROPOSAL WERE ADOPTED AND IF THERE WERE NO SIZE THRESHOLD OR A VERY SMALL ONE, THE ALLIES WOULD HAVE TO..."

SUB-PARAGRAPH (5), THIRD SENTENCE:

INSERT "ALONE: AFTER "MOVEMENTS".

CONTINUE LAST SENTENCE AS FOLLOWS:

- ", WHEREAS, IN THE MILITARY VIEW, NO MILITARY GAIN TO BALANCE THE INHIBITIONS RESULTING FROM THIS PROPOSAL ON THE ALLIES TIMELY FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT CAN BE IDENTIFIED."

SUB-PARAGRAPH (7):

ADD AFTER LAST SENTENCE:

- "HOWEVER, IN THE MILITARY VIEW, NO MILITARY ADVANTAGE AND SOME DISADVANTAGES CAN BE IDENTIFIED AS RESULTING FROM THIS PROPOSAL."

SUB-PARAGRAPH (8):

- POSSIBLY TO BE REDRAFTED AFTER ANOTHER MORE THOROUGH EXAMINATION, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE MILITARY VIEW EXPRESSED IN ENCLOSURE 4 OF P&P(CSCE)-4-77, DATED 10TH JUNE, 1977-

SUB-PARAGRAPH (9):

INSERT AFTER HEADING:

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 05 OF 05 NATO 07003

- "IT IS ARGUABLE THAT THIS MEASURE WOULD MORE LOGICALLY COME UNDER THE HEADING OF 'OTHER ASPECTS OF SECURITY AND DISARMAMENT' RATHER THAN CBMS."

- -WHOLE SUB-PARAGRAPH POSSIBLY TO BE REDRAFTED AFTER A MORE THOROUGH EXAMINATION, TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE MILITARY VIEW EXPRESSED IN P&P(CSCE)-4-77, DATED 10TH JUNE, 1977 -

37. FIFTH SENTENCE:

REPLACE "CONCRETE PROPOSALS" BY "BROADER ARMS CONTROL PROPOSALS".

40. FIRST SENTENCE: REPLACE "POOR" BY "INFERIOR".

LAST SENTENCE TO READ (WITHOUT PARENTHESES):

- "IT COULD ALSO BE STATED THAT THE MANEUVER ACTIVITIES OF ALLIES ARE LEGITIMATE, SINCE THEY ARE BASED ON THE RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENSE RECOGNIZED BY THE UN CHARTER, AND ARE NECESSARY IN VIEW OF THE EXISTING MILITARY REALITIES IN EUROPE."

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41. DELETE ENTIRE PARAGRAPH AND FOOTNOTE RELATED TO IT.

43. AT THE END OF FIRST SENTENCE ADD:

- ", AS YUGOSLAVIA AND ROMANIA IN PARTICULAR HAVE  
ADVOCATED."

- -----

ANNEXES: TO BE UPDATED IN LIGHT OF RECENT SOVIET MANEU-  
VER NOTIFICATION. END TEXT. BENNETT

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## Message Attributes

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